

England. - Appendix. - History and Politics. - 1798

E I J

ADVICE to the ELECTORS of Great Britain; occasioned by the intended Invasion from France.

THERE can be nothing more certain, than that the French would never have undertaken their late dangerous Expedition for Scotland, if they had not receiv'd great Encouragement to it from thence, and very large Promises of Assistance too from England. Nor is this only the private Thought of some Persons, but it is also the Opinion of the Lords and Commons, express'd in their several Addresses to the Queen upon that Occasion: The French King has likewise assur'd the World of it, in the Circular Letter he sent to his Ministers in foreign Courts; and all the other Accounts that have been receiv'd of this Matter perfectly agree in that Particular. But, what is above all other Authorities, Her Majesty herself, in Her last most gracious Speech, is pleas'd to say, *She is satisfy'd that very false Representations of the true Inclinations and Interests of Her People must have been made by some of Her Subjects, who have given Encouragement to that desperate Attempt.* It being therefore out of dispute that the French receiv'd Encouragement, the only Doubt that remains is, who are the Men most likely to have given it; and what Party among us would, in all probability, have been most ready to join and assist them. New to set this Matter in a true Light, it is necessary to take a View of the two Parties into which we are at present unhappily divided. There can be no Occasion to mention the *Jacobite* Party that does not own the Government, both because it is very inconsiderable in it self; and because it seems to be out of this Question, as being openly and avowedly in the Interest of the Pretender. The only Parties therefore that remain to be consider'd, are those that are commonly distinguish'd by the Names of *Whig* and *Tory*. But before this Matter be examin'd, it is necessary to remove a common Error that has been industriously propagated by ill-designing Men, who would persuade the World that the Names only of these Parties remain, and that the Persons are chang'd. Now this whole Mistake arises from nothing but the want of distinguishing between the several Governments, under which these Parties have appear'd and acted. For from the same Principle that those who are call'd Whigs oppos'd the Administration in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James*, from that very Principle, I say, they have constantly supported the Government since the Revolution: And therefore those Men who would insinuate that the Whigs have left their Principles, and from being zealous Asserters of the Peoples Liberties are turn'd errant Courtiers, endeavour to put a senseless Fallacy on the Nation; for it is not the Whigs that are chang'd, but the Courts. The same thing may be also with Justice affirm'd of the Tories, that they have still acted like themselves, and agreeably to their Principles: So willing am I to do Right to both Parties! For the very same Reasons that made them the Tools of Arbitrary Power in former Reigns, have certainly induc'd them to oppose all the Measures of Her present Majesty, and of the late King. This may therefore be laid down as a sure Foundation for what is to follow, that these two Parties still continue the same that they ever were, both in Principle and Interest; that the Leaders of them are still as well known as ever, and that a Tory can never turn Whig by endeavouring to ruin this Government, nor a Whig grow a Tory by labouring to support it. So that there can be nothing more ridiculous than to hear some Men, who serv'd other Courts in all that was done wrong, now call themselves the Country Party for distressing this Court that acts right. For since Her Majesty's Interest is inseparable from that of Her Country.

try, those Men that best carry on the just and glorious War she has undertaken in Defence of it, must always in true Sense and Justice be call'd the Country Party: Just as those who supported former Courts that were under the Influence of *France*, were then most properly call'd the Popish Party, or the Betrayers of their Country. This being the true State of this Case, no Body that thinks at all can be impos'd upon by that foolish Sophistry upon this Subject, which has often appear'd of late in our printed Papers.

Since therefore it is plain that these two Parties are not the least chang'd from what they always were, I come now to the great Enquiry, whether of them is more likely to have invited over the Pretender, or to have given him Reason to depend upon their Interest and Assistance. And in order to clear this Point, I will take a short View of their several Principles and Practices.

The true Principle of the Tories is to profess Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, to set up an Establishment opposite to Liberty, void of Property, and destructive of all the Ends of human Society; to persecute those that differ from them in Opinion, and in short to make a Government as absolute and lawless as is possible. Accordingly, most of these Gentlemen oppos'd the late King's coming to the Crown; and when that Question was carry'd against them, much was to be done before their Consciences could be brought into a Condition to own his Government. The Distinction of King *de Facto* and *de Jure* was reviv'd, in order to make the Oaths go down with them, and many made no scruple to profess that they took them in that Sense, or with some other secret Distinction, or Mental Reservation. When the Association came on, their very Chiefs and Leaders declar'd they would never come into it: And when the Abjuration was impos'd, several that had taken the other Oaths in order to save their Taxes, peremptorily refus'd this: So careful has this Party been not to make their Case desperate with the Pretender, nor their Reconciliation impracticable. Not to mention their publick Rejoicings, which have been often too Notorious, when any ill News has arriv'd of our Misfortunes either by Sea or at Land.

The true Principle of the Whigs is to maintain the Religion, Liberty and Property of their Country; and to have a just Concern for the common Good and Welfare of their Fellow-Subjects. To keep the Monarchy within its just Bounds, and secure it with Laws from Tyranny at home, and with Forces given by Parliament from the Danger of a foreign Power: To reverence and esteem good Church-men, yet tolerate Dissenters; and in a word, to keep our excellent Constitution as it now stands, between the two Extrems of Arbitrary Power, and a Common-wealth. Accordingly these Men, in the Convention Parliament, after great Difficulties and Disputes, settled the Crown upon the present Establishment, and have since taken effectual Care for securing the Succession. They have always, since the Revolution, given cheerfully the Sums that were thought Necessary to carry on the War, and have even lent their own Money upon such Funds as others have rejected. They have broke all Measures with the Pretender, have been constantly Unanimous against his Interest; and have upon every Occasion, with one Consent, acknowledg'd Her Majesty to be their rightful and lawful Queen.

These being therefore the Characters of the two Parties, drawn from their avow'd Principles, and known Practices, it is left to all you Electors for the next Parliament to judge, whether sort of Men are the safer for you to chuse at this Juncture, all Circumstances duly consider'd. In every County or Borough, where there is an Opposition, the Competitors will be generally distinguish'd and known to you all by the two Names before mention'd: You cannot be Strangers to the Families and Principles of your Neighbours; and if any Candidates come among you from distant Parts, it will be certainly made appear to you upon what Interest they stand; or by whose Recommendation: And depend upon it, whenever the Day of your Election comes on, if you chuse any Person that is call'd a Tory, you will have such a Man to represent you, as has been just now describ'd under that Character. It is not pretended that all the Tories are for a *French* Government, or would have gone in to the Popish Invader, if he

he had landed; nay it is certain that many of them are carry'd by crafty Leaders into Measures, of which they neither see, nor would approve the Consequence: But if, notwithstanding all this, their Principles have a natural Tendency to favour such an Attempt, and it be certain that some of their Party were actually engag'd in it; and if, on the other side, the Principles of the Whigs have been ever firm to the present Government, and it is not so much as suspected that one Man of that Party was in the Design of the Invasion, I should think this Consideration alone sufficient at this time to determin the Choice of all the honest Freeholders in *Great Britain*. If there be but a bare Possibility of your Nation's being given up by the Tories, and a moral Certainty that it will be for ever secured by the Whigs, there is no room left for you to doubt, whether Side you ought to favour: And that this is your Case, with respect to the next Parliament, is so plain and obvious that it comes near to a Demonstration; having all the Degrees of Probability that such a Matter is capable of; and Men have no other Rule to go by in Enquiries of this Nature.

I suppose also there are none among you, that after the late Alarm from *France*, do not think it will be reasonable to examine next Winter, by what Means, and by what Persons we have been expos'd to such an Attempt. But if the next should prove a Tory-Parliament, will they make this Enquiry, as they ought to do, when 'tis certain it will fall heavy on some of their own Friends? Will they discover who gave the Invitation, that are certainly themselves the Inviting Party? Will they look into the bottom of *Gregg's* Treason? Will they lay open the Mystery of *Valiere's* Iniquity, and do Right to the Nation, which was apparently betray'd for some Years, without the least Pretence of any Service done to the State? Be assured, Gentlemen, no such Enquiries as these can be expected from such a Parliament. But I'll tell you some of the Things that such a House of Commons will do: They will open the Session with bewailing the sad State of the Nation, though they secretly rejoice at it: And if our Successes this Year be answerable to our Hopes, yet they will disparage it all, as not carry'd on the right Way, or in the right Place. They will attack the Queen's Government, and her Ministers; let their Management have been ever so commendable and exact: Nay, the better they manage, the more will they be under the Displeasure of such a Parliament. They will carry the Bill against Occasional Conformity, in order to persecute Dissenters: They will repeal the Act of Abjuration, and weaken that for the Succession: Nay it is possible they may declare the Legitimacy of the Pretender, and vote him immediately the Successor to Her Majesty; for that Matter has been more than once under their Consideration. But if they should not go to so great a length the first Session, yet this Effect you will be sure to find from their Resolutions: They will infallibly spoil all your Business abroad; they will give the Money (if they give it at all) upon such uncertain Funds as will make the Supplies ineffectual: And when that Point is once settled to their Wishes, then will they most eloquently declaim upon the inexhaustible Treasure of the *French* King, give you to understand that his Power is invincible, and sweetly intimate that you ought immediately to accept of any Peace that he in his great Goodness is pleas'd to offer you.

And now, because Peace is in it self so very desirable, that more People will be inclin'd to chuse Tories from the promising Hopes they will give of this, than for any other Consideration, I'll tell you what sort of Peace it is that these Gentlemen would make for you, and what would be the sure Effects of it. As healthful a State as Peace may seem to be, if it should be made before *France* is more reduc'd, it would be the most dangerous Lethargy that ever *Europe* fell into: For, as soon as the *French* had taken a little Breath, the certain Consequence of it Abroad would be the Ruin of your Allies, and at Home the Enslaving of your selves. And I suppose I need not describe to you the Blessings of such a Peace: And is not this great Encouragement for you that love your Queen and Country to chuse Members that would make such a Peace as this is for you? Do you remember who were the Men, in the Tory Parliaments of former

men Reigns, that suffer'd or rather promoted the growing Greatness of France? And will you chuse again such Men as those, who may be justly said to have been the Cause of all your Misfortunes? For was not the present War made to reduce the French King to those Bounds which such Parliaments suffer'd him to break through? And since you know who they are that betray'd you formerly; will you now trust them again? Will you put your Liberties again into the Hands of that Party, who formerly gave them all up? Have you so long abhor'd the French Nation, and will you at last have a King to govern you that will be a Vassal of France? Would you see the Court and the Country swarm with Papists, your Armies led abroad against your Confederates, the Ports of your Island deliver'd up to Foreigners, and the Fleet of Great Britain commanded by a French Man? Would you see the Church of England under a bitter Persecution, and would you your selves be all Papists, or Martyrs? If these are the Things you would all see, the best way you can take is to get a Tory Parliament: But if the naming of them gives you a just Abhorrence, you know a sure Means to prevent their coming upon you. You have the best of all Authorities to direct you at your next Elections, even Her Majesty's own, who in Her most gracious Answer to the Address of the Lords, professes that *Her chief Dependance is upon those who on all Occasions have express'd their Zeal for the Support of the Revolution*. You see therefore what Men Her Majesty recommends to you: But if any Men pretend to stand amongst you, that have oppos'd the present Settlement, or been against carrying on the War; if any that have been formerly for owning the Duke of Anjou, or lately for disobliging the King of Portugal in order to divide that Crown from the Grand Alliance; if any that have represented our Losses to be greater than they are, for the sake of raising Jealousies of Her Majesty's best Subjects; if any that have been for withdrawing Part of our Forces from Flanders, which could tend only to make Holland accept a Peace upon any Terms; and, above all, if any appear amongst you that made a Run upon the Bank, and attack'd the Publick Credit, when the Kingdom was threaten'd with an Invasion; if such Men as these, I say, ask your Votes, *Have a Care, honest Britains, of chusing such Representatives*, if you would be counted true to your Country, or wish that the Blessings you now enjoy may be safely convey'd to your Posterity.

The next Parliament will have under Consideration the most important Affairs that were ever transacted in this Island: And therefore you ought all to be very careful not to employ wrong Men in Business of so much Moment; not to be impos'd upon by those that publish false and malicious Stories and Insinuations, and awkwardly endeavour to confound the right Names of Persons and the true Notions of Things; and, especially, not to take those for your best Friends that rail most loudly against the Court. They are the very same Offenders that shelter'd themselves for some time under the sacred Name of the Church; and since that Pretence will serve no longer, they think now to carry on their Attacks upon the Government, under the popular Title of the Country Party. But I hope I have shewn that they have no more Right to this Claim, than they had to the former. Upon the whole Matter, if you will now chuse such Members as you can safely depend upon for a faithful Discharge of their Trust, you will fix Her Majesty's Throne upon a Rock that is immovable, and may reasonably expect from the ensuing Parliament two invaluable Blessings, a Conclusion of the War with Honour and Safety, and an Establishment of the Union to all future Ages: But if, notwithstanding this Warning, you are still for trusting such as have been always Enemies to your Civil and Religious Rights, and were lately against the Union of the two Kingdoms, and are now crying out unseasonably for a Peace, in vain will you complain hereafter, when your Chains gall you: The deplorable Misery that you will bring upon your selves will be equal to your Folly, or your Guilt; and the King, whom the French will set over you, will be a sufficient Punishment for all your Ingratitude to the Queen, whom they will depose.

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